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Fascism and its Practical Results

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"The Leaders of the People"

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Forward

Special lectures given by our leading politicians and academics at the German Academy of Politics that cover all areas of National Socialist ideology and politics, such as political and cultural philosophy, racial studies and racial hygiene, law and political science, domestic policy, economic, financial, and social policy, defense policy, foreign policy, and other special areas of overall policy, will be published continuously in this series.
The writings will convey to scholars, political leaders in the new Germany, and anyone interested in politics the scientific foundations of the National Socialist worldview and an understanding of the measures taken by Adolf Hitler's government.
The publications of the German Academy of Politics are intended to further instill National Socialist ideas in the German people and to educate them in the spirit of the national community.

- **Paul Meier-Benneckenstein, President of the German Academy of Politics**

As a leitmotif for my remarks, I would like to choose a quote from Heinrich von Treitschke, which Mussolini occasionally referred to—that "men make history."
It would be wrong to think that men alone are solely responsible for shaping the political and historical course of human life, for men only shape the raw material: this raw material itself is not called upon to direct and guide political developments, but it instead requires the guiding hand of the creative individual. The politician is an artist, and for him, the raw material is always just a malleable substance - thus, perhaps the greatest achievement of political work is to shape the raw material of humanity into a people, and then to elevate this people to a national and political significance.

It is impossible to understand Fascism and modern Italy without Mussolini, for Mussolini himself stands at the beginning and end of the political development we call Fascism.
Fascism is a phenomenon that first entered the world of manifestation with Mussolini, and Mussolini gave Fascism not only its idea, but also its form, shape, and organization - thus, modern Italy bears the unmistakable, deeply imprinted stamp of this unique personality in all its expressions of life.

Mussolini himself is a phenomenon of will and idea, and precisely for this reason, he seemed so detached, so incomprehensible in the midst of a world of political phenomena that was no longer the work of personalities, but of groups, parties, and organizations.
He first appeared as a type, as an individual, as a lone man in the enthusiastic crowd of democrats, syndicalists, and union secretaries: here, for the first time, he revealed himself to be an outspoken political personality who sought to view political issues from a political standpoint rather than a materialistic and mechanistic one - that is why Mussolini became the pioneer of modern Italy, because in the world of liberalism, materialism, and parliamentarianism, he was the first to attempt to unite people in a new organizational form and give them a new social and national ideal.
His greatest historical achievement is that, in the course of this political development, he was the first to demonstrate to the world an attempt to bring Marxism to its knees: this had never been attempted before, mainly because it was considered an unsolvable and impossible task, and difficulty upon difficulty piled up against him; nevertheless, Mussolini was the first to remove Marxism as a political phenomenon from the world of facts, and was the first to provide classic proof that Marxism as a workers' movement can be overcome, not for reactionary reasons, but for social reasons.

Fascism was the first power-political process against liberalism, that intellectual world of ideas that began in 1789 with the storming of the Bastille and, in violent revolutionary convulsions, conquered one country after another, ultimately plunging the peoples into Marxism, democracy, anarchy, and class fanaticism - in its place, Mussolini had established for the first time a national sense of community that united classes, estates, denominations, and professions on a new platform, into a new national community of destiny.
This was essentially a revolution, for Mussolini was clear from the outset that this goal could never be achieved by haggling or making pacts with the world of liberals and democrats, nor was it a question of somehow attempting to make peace between two intellectual principles that were diametrically opposed to each other, since the point was to eliminate one intellectual attitude and replace it with another.

This, then, was the breakthrough of youth, the youth that had gone through the hellfire of the Great War and had gained a fundamentally different view of political matters than the liberal-democratic world had ever thought possible - it is therefore quite natural that Fascism was not understood by the older

generation in Italy in its early days, and indeed, could not be understood, because what Mussolini brought into the world of appearances at that time was so new, so modern, so "unprecedented", that the world could not comprehend it.
But here, too, Schopenhauer's words ring true: that today's paradoxes will be tomorrow's trivialities.

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I am firmly convinced that the political direction that we today call "Fascism" in Italy and "National Socialism" in Germany will gradually permeate the whole of Europe, that there can be no more inhibitions or obstacles to it, and that the future of our continent depends on the breakthrough of this political phenomenon: this will be the form of Europe that we are striving for, and Mussolini had the great fortune to be the first to have it realized in his state by the Italian people.

Revolutions in themselves are never international - for example, the storming of the Bastille was a typically French event - but revolutions do spread internationally, for they are directed against a political system, a mood, a mental attitude, which understandably varies from country to country.
At the end of every revolution, then, there is always a newly structured continent, and it was inevitable that those who stormed the Bastille in 1789 would, decades later, become the standard-bearers of a new Europe: this sometimes takes years, often decades, but it is inherent in the internal dynamics of such historical processes, and does not alter in the inevitable logic with which they tend to unfold.
The march on Rome is similar - the march on Rome was a signal, a warning sign for liberal democracy; it was the first attempt to destroy the liberal-democratic intellectual world in order to replace it with a new kind of communal and cooperative thinking.
Mussolini's statement that Fascism was not an export commodity should also be understood in this sense - this does not mean, as he confirmed to me, that Fascism is a unique Italian phenomenon that will leave other countries completely untouched, but rather that Fascism is the typically Italian form of this new attitude, just as National Socialism is the typically German form, and that it will take on a different form in other countries—say, in England, France, Russia, or Austria.
What awaits us at the end of this breakthrough will stand a Europe that, instead of binding itself internationally, will remain on national soil; a Europe in which, depending on the state, people, and character of the people, but whose forms as a whole will spring from the same spiritual roots, and perhaps after 10, 20, or 30 years, will perhaps present a different picture than that which has been overcome by this spiritual attitude.

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I will attempt to examine Fascism in terms of its actual ideological roots; it is up to each individual to draw parallels with the political phenomenon in Germany.

Fascism is anti-liberal in nature, not only in its effects, but also in its spiritual principle.
It has practically overcome the liberal world in which people were measured only as human beings, as numbers, but not as personalities - for the first time, Fascism has replaced the usually exorbitant delusion of the masses with a new leadership principle within the state, the economy, and industry.

It goes without saying that with such a pronounced emphasis on the idea of personality, an equivalent had to be created for the people: this was given its organizational form in the Fascist system of corporations. On the one hand, there was a clearly defined concept of personality, thought through to its ultimate consequences; on the other, there was the idea of corporations, which encompassed all creative people in a national community of destiny.

Fascism is not only anti-liberal, but also anti-pacifist.
When we say this though, we encounter its first mystery: it is anti-pacifist, yet it preserves peace. How can this be explained?
Pacifism is, by its very nature, a radically democratic idea; it is practiced, but always only by exponents of liberal democracy - the party leaders, the representatives of interest groups, the union secretaries and syndics, and often also by advocates and lawyers.
It is natural for these people, without necessarily wanting to, to attempt to transfer the methods and means of their own profession to the factual world of politics: this is actually the crux of the decline of the liberal world, because its parties were nothing more than interest groups, and therefore had to consider issues of national politics from the perspective of their assigned interests, in accordance with their interest-based character; after all, lawyers are all too easily tempted to carry the methods of the courtroom up to the parliamentary tribunes.
The fact is that there can be no honest hatred and no honest love here, for although they argued in front of the public, they were not actually fighting each other: these were battles that were no longer battles, and they brought worldviews into play that they did not really mean as they expressed them: they argued about problems that were no longer problems behind the scenes, and by the end of the day, outside in the corridors, they walked arm in arm again, and were of one heart and one soul.
It is clear that people of this kind have no sense of the degree of humility and reverence that a person who has truly risen from his people must have toward them, for even in the people, they see only a community of interests, and therefore assess them as they tend to evaluate other phenomena of interest to them.
Never has Europe experienced and seen as much as it did during the time when the advocates ruled it, mainly because they never participated in war themselves, but always wisely let others fight it for them.
In order to conceal and hide this shameful craft from the deceived people, they invented what we call pacifism - in the salons, people indulged in the luxury of humanity, but otherwise, as Mussolini once said, they were ravenous wolves in tailcoats and top hats; Fascism, on the other hand, had declared war on this, calling a spade a spade with merciless cruelty; it did not reject war per se, but it only dared to wage war when it was the last, very last resort to secure the survival of its people.
I am convinced that Europe, when it is structured along national lines, is much better able to preserve peace than this Europe of a liberal spirit, for nationalists have always understood each other better than liberal democrats: nationalists stand on the same ideological ground, and they not only defend the honor of their own people, but they also respect the honor of others.
Thus, Mussolini's anti-pacificism inherently includes a great, bold, and daring love of peace, which also drove him to represent and defend Germany's rights before the world at a time when this was still unfashionable and unpopular.

The third principle that Fascism championed was the fight against anonymity.
Liberal democracy never gives a name to its causes, but prefers to remain unrecognized, and its real rulers do not stand in the glaring spotlight of public life, but mostly remain behind the scenes.

Today they are a democratic party, tomorrow a state party, and the day after tomorrow, they supposedly no longer exist at all; this type of politics had found its decisive form in Italy in Freemasonry, and it was therefore inevitable that Fascism, with its anti-liberal and anti-pacifist stance, would declare war on Freemasonry until it was destroyed, for it too was identical with the intellectual center of Marxism.
Social democracy, Marxism, and Freemasonry differ only in nuances and methods, because in their way of thinking and acting, they are fundamentally the same.
Mussolini has replaced this view with the principle of full responsibility; he took power for himself and his party, not in order to evade responsibility in its execution, but to openly and solemnly place it on his shoulders before his own nation and the whole world.

This seizure of power has necessitated the fight against that false kind of humanity that we all came to know only too well in the liberal democratic intellectual world: one is humane towards the weak and the sick, and thus becomes inhumane towards the strong and the healthy; one is humane towards the individual, only to become inhumane towards the nation; one preaches a false, hypocritical humanity and an attitude towards society born of deceitful attitudes, yet without possessing the humanity to overcome one's own faults.
Mussolini did that - he tackled the damage of his time relentlessly and harshly, and in a struggle lasting many years and involving great sacrifice, he has eradicated it.
The false ideal of humanity espoused by liberal democracy was destroyed root and branch and replaced by a masculine heroism that encompasses not only the individual circles of people involved in politics, but already embraces the entire population.

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Above all, however, is the best part of fascism: its youth.
This youth is unrecognizable, for never before has such pride, defiance, and inner calm, such boldness and daring been seen in the faces of the people from the southern countries.
This is Mussolini's work: a heroism that is grand, brave, and high-spirited; that pushes itself to sacrifice for the nation; that sees the highest and most desirable goal of a man in serving the people, and that therefore also has the strength and courage to forego material advantages.
It is only natural that these young people today represent the political face of young Italy, for it was perhaps the greatest misfortune of Europe in 1914 was that the nations were ruled by old men; that they were not led by young men, but by those who knew that when war broke out, it would not be their generation that would have to fight it.
This aging process continued beyond the war, and it was the most offensive and provocative thing for a youth returning home from the trenches that, despite the purgatory they had gone through, nothing had changed in the political structure of their peoples.
No one should be surprised then that Mussolini's ideas have caught on among the people and that the Fascist movement began with the front-line soldiers; no one should be surprised then that he invoked this spirit of the front and made it the propaganda pathos of his young movement.

He has led the youth to the front, knowing that they would quickly learn what they lacked in routine and the techniques of governing.

What they bring with them cannot merely be learned at home: the courage to take risks and do things thoroughly, and to pursue politics with a long-term view, without being tormented by the fear that they would not be able to experience the successes themselves.
That is also the most valuable aspect of this youthful leadership: that it does not have a life behind it, but ahead of it; that it has unlearned the fear of death in order to regain reverence for it; that it sees things as they are, without sentimentality, without false pathos, and without romanticism that is far removed from life: it has replaced all this with a new way of thinking, a kind of steely, iron, masculine, heroic romanticism that is to fill this century.
This youthful, Fascist Italy is bursting with creative power, and it still has the courage to tackle problems, even if they seem unsolvable: it is precisely because of that that they take them on eagerly.
This youthful, Fascist Italy can dare to do something because the flower of the nation really is at the head of its state; it is obsessed with the ambition to make history, and it really has the power in its hands to use it, unhindered by parties and interest groups.

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Fascism is the idea of one man, sprung from the brilliant mind of his unique personality - even if this idea did not catch fire, it would lay unspoken in the air.
Mussolini is one of those rare people of whom Goethe once said:

"When man falls silent in his torment, a god gives me the power to say what I suffer."

He was able to put this mood that was in the air, this new heroic-masculine attitude that was already taking shape, first into words and then into action: it was he who had the power to emerge from the unconscious and subconscious into the bright light of consciousness.

Fascism has grown from the idea of an individual to the belief of a party, and the belief of this party has become the naturally accepted worldview of a people, the hope for the future of an entire nation.
There is no need for proof that the man who accomplished this grandiose work is a person of a special kind: while many attempts have been made from various quarters to find an apt interpretation for the phenomenon of Mussolini, both from the Jewish side and, in their own way, from the Marxist and reactionary sides, I have the impression that none of these attempts have hit the mark, for Mussolini is more than a Caesar and more than a party leader.
He embodies youth and willpower, and that alone would be enough for political leadership if he had the power and if there were no forces or people capable of wresting that power from him - and yet, a man who emerges from the people, who depends on the trust and allegiance of that people, needs a third thing: direct contact with the people, that mysterious magic and charisma that tends to surround men who are called the darlings of the people.
Mussolini possesses something indefinable and inexpressible, a kind of kindness and masculinity, of well-understood modesty, but also self-confident greatness and heroic strength - it was this that has allowed him to win the hearts of the Italian people, for he is a man of instinct, a man with tact and sensitivity.

When we spoke, within ten minutes we were in agreement on the first topic of conversation: he has an instinctive feel for all the problems of the party, the revolution, the corporative system, the merging of the party into the state, the image of the state itself, and also its content.
There are people with whom a true National Socialist can converse, so to speak, with hyphens: Mussolini is one of them; there is no need to discuss problems at length, for they are already completely clear and outlined in hints.

He has the heart of the Italian masses like no other, and those Marxist speakers who talk of an Italian "dictatorship" can only be compared to the famous tanners who have lost their skins.
To those who actually know the facts, this seems ridiculous, childish, and naive, as the Italian people and Italian development have long since moved on from these issues to the agenda of the day: the word Marxism no longer exists, and the word Bolshevism only appears in dictionaries, but no longer in the harsh reality of life.
It may not be entirely understandable to us, but in Italian terms, the ultimate expression of a people's belief in him is the phrase "Il Duce is always right" - this phrase can only be coined in a nation whose overwhelming majority is overwhelmingly convinced that he is correct, otherwise, it would seem ridiculous and absurd; it would not be effective at all.
"Il Duce is always right" inspires such enormous trust and devotion that it is an undeniable national asset with which practical realpolitik can be pursued, so much so that there is really no need to say anything more about it.
He is the ideal of Italian youth: every Balilla[1] boy wears his picture on his chest, and every Italian citizen carries his picture in their heart.
He is the man of the workers and the man of the farmers; he understands the people, and therefore prefers to be among the people, and he knows that it is not just a matter of seizing power with the people, but, more importantly, of anchoring power in the people.

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We have seen two types of soldiers in Prussia-Germany: the somewhat broad and hard stocky type, and the narrow, slender type - I would like to see the latter in the ideal image of Helmuth von Moltke, a general who knew how to wield not only the sword but also the pen, and who displays a style in his Turkish letters as if he were a born artist; I would also like to see him in that lonely Frederick, who knew how to wield both the word and the flute.
It is a kind of masculine heroism that such types of great soldiers sometimes suppress their artistic instincts in order to devote themselves to the historical, and I believe I can see something similar in Mussolini: a man who is as much a soldier as he is an artist, who senses things instinctively and feels problems in his fingertips, and who therefore cannot really make any mistakes - he may be wrong about trivialities, but when it comes to principles, he will proceed with somnambulistic certainty.
If I may venture to say so, I would almost like to declare: Mussolini is a Prussian Roman! A Roman with Prussian discipline; a Prussian enthusiasm for work and heroism, a type who, in his uniqueness, could only flourish on Roman soil - his work is the Fascist Party, and he is the center of this Fascist Italy.

[1] The “Opera Nazionale Balilla”, a youth organization in Fascist Italy similar to the Hitler Youth. - The Translator

His instinctive insight into things also proves that Mussolini does not start at the top, but at the bottom; he had more opportunity than Hitler to start at the top, because he was at the top, at the head of a large party, but he started from the bottom and worked from the roots, not from the crown, for he knew that only from the roots one rises to the crown, but never from the crown down to the roots: that was the essence of it.
A man of such heroic self-assurance had to take the position from the outset that if this organization wins, then it deserves 100% of the victory; this organization cannot be created to make pacts with other parties or tolerate other gods beside itself.
This party risks everything: either it loses, and then it loses everything, or it wins, and then it wins everything; that is why he has knocked the others to the ground with heavy, repeated blows.
Today in Italy, it is impossible to imagine that there were once other parties, the Social Democrats, Anarchists, Communists, or Populari - all of that is long gone: with that, Fascism has become the political organization of the people.

A people needs a supporting framework; it must be given a skeletal frame.
This, however, can take various forms: it can take the form of an order, an army, or an organization, but it can also be a party, though there must always be a minority among the people that shows the way.
In ancient Rome, it was the nobility; in Prussia, it was the army; in Fascist Italy, it is the Fascist Party, and in National Socialist Germany, it is the National Socialist movement.
The framework, however, must not stand alongside the state, but instead must be within it; the state must be built around this framework, for once it loses it, it collapses in on itself.
The great problem of becoming Fascist was therefore to incorporate Fascism as a function into the state, for this political organization must not stand alongside or behind the state, but merge with it and instill in itself the conviction that it is actually the state: the majority may give the general public its stamp, but the minority makes history.

Very soon, Mussolini appointed the secretary-general of his party to the cabinet, granting him the rank of acting minister; this integration into the state was naturally then continued downwards, so that today, after ten years of development, one can confidently say that Fascism and the state are actually one and the same.
This also created a connection to the people - woe to the government that assumes full responsibility and sees its connection to the people only in the legal means of its power; woe to the government that relies on nothing but the civil service bureaucracy and its police!

A regime will only be lasting if it finds its support in the people themselves, since only then will it be able to do so if it pursues the policies of the people - thus, while Fascism, like National Socialism, is the proud prerogative of a minority, this minority does not represent a thin upper class that, sitting in the capital, determines the fate of the state, but rather, this upper class is hierarchically integrated into the entire people: the bottom forms the top, and the top thickens downwards and forms the entire internal framework of the Italian state and the structure of the people.
This party was the bearer of the revolution, and it is also, by virtue of its own right and its own claim, the bearer of the Fascist state: the supreme head of the state is the supreme head of the Fascist Party, and it is the malleable expression of Fascist will, Fascist thought, and Fascist action.

Without Fascism, it is almost impossible to imagine Italy today, for Fascism has permeated the Italian people down to the last member; it has completely taken hold of the youth, and they are growing up into the state without knowing anything else.
The young Fascist has a vague feeling that a similar process is currently taking place in Germany, and the reception by the young Fascists was so warm that it could not be explained by a parallel convergence of general political interests: there was something more to it, namely the feeling of, “We share the same convictions, and what you want for Germany is actually the same as what we are striving for in Italy" - this feeling opens up a new world for us.

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Revolution and revolt are two different things: what we experienced in 1918 was revolt, and what we are experiencing today is revolution; what Italy endured before the Fascists came to power was revolt, and what Mussolini did and what he is still doing today is the Fascist revolution.
Revolutions remain bound to tradition: they are conservative in nature, and they do not destroy for the sake of destruction, but only destroy what must be destroyed so that the young have room to live - thus, even Fascism, even Mussolini, allowed many things to remain that did not actually belong directly to the essence of Fascism, for this young party is so bound by tradition and so filled with reverence for its own historical past that it could not be more conservative.
The great thing, however, is that it is already forming its own traditions from its own historical past, for every Fascist is rightly convinced that the history of his party is the history of Italy: the dead of the Fascist movement are revered as saints of the nation and held up to the people as shining examples; the dead Fascists march, as one of our songs says, in spirit alongside the living.

Thus, the party itself has become—I am tempted to say—the kneading machine of the Fascist people: raw material passes through it, and out of it comes the shaped mass that can be used in state politics, that can be maneuvered, and that now emerges as a formative structure from the hand of the great political artist.
The regime protects itself without police, without means of power, for the strength of the people is also the protection of the Fascist regime; this sect has indeed risen from the masses to the people, from the people to the nation, so that today one can only speak of Italy when one means Fascism and the great personality of its leader.
In Western Europe, the view is widely held that Italy's intelligentsia is hostile or at least reserved toward the Fascist regime: this is a foolish rumor invented by Western intellectuals out of pure fear, and there is no truth to it whatsoever, for whatever intelligence exists outside of Fascism has long since dried up, and there is no longer any need to concern oneself with it.
It is beginning – and this is the worst thing that can happen to intellectualism – to become downright boring, and no one cares about it anymore; meanwhile, life continues unabated, and the young movement is stamping out the forms of a new social order - the entire nation has been transformed and restructured, and the masses and their leader are filled with an irrepressible creative urge, inspired by the will to wrestle with problems.
What, then, does it matter if a few outdated intellectuals still stand on the sidelines, whining and complaining, on the path where Fascism has begun its triumphant march?

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Fascist film is only at the beginning of a new creation today: it is still small, but it is beginning to gain significance.
We ourselves have seen a number of its works in Germany, and while we may be ahead in terms of technology, in our determination to shape the great destiny of the people, we still lag behind Italy today. In my opinion, that is the essential point - everything else can be learned, and while routine and technology are things that anyone with common sense can acquire, what cannot be learned is the spirit that fills things, and the impulse that stands above them.
Fascism has made the first attempt to place film in the direct service of the state - at the moment however, I cannot make a definitive judgment as to whether this was successful, nor would I know whether it should be emulated in Germany, since as I emphasized at the outset, every nation has its own nationalism, and it would be disastrous to try to blindly and uncritically adopt that of another nation.
Fate does not make it that easy for us; we must think for ourselves and try to reconcile the legality of the new state with the unique character of the German people.

What is impressive about this young Italy is its boldness to build - we are now beginning to do the same in Germany, not because we have copied it from Fascism, but because it is our firm conviction that peoples and men will never be able to immortalize themselves in reforms in this or that area of daily life, but only in indestructible stone.
One must have the gift of presenting the eternal stone as a monument to the entire people - that is also the case in Italy: the whole of ancient Rome has been rebuilt, rows of houses demolished, and a gigantic forum in marble erected outside the city limits, while roads are being built of unparalleled solidity, length, width, and stability.
One might assume that the Italian people have no inner connection to these things, for as the little man says, what does the Roman Forum matter to him? After all, only the cars of the rich drive on these roads—but the opposite is true.
Every Italian is convinced that this is their forum, that these are their roads, created by the immortal Italian creative spirit at a time when the rest of the world was shaken by feverish crises - we must thus also achieve this in Germany: that the desire to immortalize oneself in stone must no longer remain the prerogative of a few individuals, but become the pride of an entire people.
The whole nation must be filled with the desire that, in two thousand years' time, the traces of our work and our lives will still be visible in the monuments that remain.

The Italian press has been regulated by a new law, and we too will be forced to define the rights and duties of the German press in the foreseeable future.
Some aspects of the Italian press system are applicable to us, but much of it does not correspond to the character of the German people - one thing is certain, however: we must include the German press in the responsibility of the state, because the right to write newspapers is a duty to the authorities.
If a state requires that a doctor be licensed by it, how much more does it have the right to license a man of public opinion who can poison and tempt entire classes of people? This is by no means intended to mean a uniformity of public opinion, but it does mean that, on the great and fundamental questions of a nation, one opinion must prevail among the people.

It is not acceptable for one person to say, "Property is theft" and another to say, "Property is high culture," for one to see religion as the fulfillment of all human longing and another to see it as opium for the people - one must profess either one or the other.
One may differ on minor issues, on nuances of form, but the principle must remain the same: if this is not the case, then it becomes necessary for the leaders of the state or the people to bring about this conformity, even if one or the other individual suffers as a result.
We are not placed at the head of the state to spare individualities, but to fight for the people's right to life.

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The whole of fascist Italy is bursting with strength and self-confidence, and the wonderful thing about it is that no one believes that it is yet finished: new beginnings are always being made, problems are always being tackled from a different angle, and things are constantly evolving.
Again and again, people run fearlessly against obstacles, and the people feel that they are truly the best and are truly governed to the best of their knowledge and belief - you can see this in the faces of these people.
I would almost say that every man on the street has become a propagandist for the Fascist idea, and you notice it as soon as you cross the border and see the first militiaman: you would be hard pressed to find anything else in Europe that exudes such Roman grandeur and strength and masculine self-confidence. Each one expresses through his demeanor: "I am a child of this Fascist Italy; I am a descendant of the proud Romans."
This became most vividly apparent to me during my visit to Littoria - today, one questions whether it will ultimately be possible to reclaim that marshland for the nation, much less whether it will be possible to settle 80,000 people here, but that is a secondary issue, for the value lies in having the courage to do such things and not being afraid to tackle them.
The only decisive factor is that one man has taken the decision, in the midst of peace, to reclaim this province for the people, and now has the strength to make this conquest a matter for the entire nation.

For every Italian, Littoria is a jewel box: our city, our province, our work, the work of Fascism.
You can see this in every worker in the Pontine Marshes: they do not live in luxury, and they certainly do not lead a life of luxury, but they are all Fascists, all of them!
They are fired by this brilliant creative will, even if it is only expressed in a primitive way: "We are conquering a province, and what two thousand years could not achieve, we, the Fascists, we who have returned from the front lines, our Mussolini will achieve."

It is impossible to measure how great this capital of national confidence is: it seems as if Fascism has filled the Italian nation with a demonic obsession with work.
Everything is being done; everything is rushing; everything has speed and attitude; everything is working, everything wants to work - one has the feeling that everyone is thinking: "We have no time to lose; we will not grow so old that we can afford to be lazy."
The symbol of this is, in a sense, the tractor: when you see it cutting through the swamps and you see two young Fascists, almost burnt black, sitting on top, singing along with the roar of the engine, you are overcome with a feeling of admiration for what has been made of this people and what peoples can

achieve when they are led by real men! You also have this feeling when you drive along the wonderful roads that criss-cross this country.
Incidentally, this is effective propaganda by Fascist Italy for its foreign visitors - a grandiose undertaking! They cost a lot of money and tremendous effort, and yet they are the pride of the Italian people; you no longer see any fatigue in Italy.
It is as if this people had chosen Wilhelm I's words as their motto:

"We have no time to be tired."

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Mussolini cares for the people not only during, but also after work - thus, the Fascist Party has set up a huge organization of several million people which combines folk theater, folk games, sports, tourism, hiking, and singing, and everything is supported by the state.
It was in Verona: there I saw the theater cart standing in the market square, where a stage had been set up - they were performing; then I saw tennis courts, soccer fields, hospitals, maternity wards, large gardens where the people could relax, fantastically and boldly laid out - social institutions of the most exemplary character, in the middle of Rome.
I saw the Forum Mussolini, a huge sports complex, filled with the youthful life of the Opera Nazionale - how must that affect the man in the street!
He is never left to his own devices, for the state takes him by the hand and guides him to the cinema, the theater, and concerts at the cheapest prices - thus, he is never alone, for the state is his last refuge.
He sees the state not as a tax collector, but as his refuge, a social work of impressive character and gigantic proportions, not only for the living, but also for future generations.

Mussolini is a friend of children, and he creates every social opportunity that can increase the number of children: he has built maternity hospitals that are so clean, so hygienic, so modern, that I do not know whether social welfare is the same in all states that sit in judgment on Fascism!
Nor do I know whether Marxism, had it come to power, would have achieved anything similar - in any case, the traces it left behind in Germany do not bear witness to this!

It is childish to say that Fascism is a matter for the rich, for on the contrary, Fascism is a matter for the people!
I have never before seen anyone speak so warmly and from the heart about workers and farmers as Mussolini himself, for he knows that the strength of the nation lies in the broad masses; that without them it is impossible to pursue politics; that a regime can only perpetuate itself through the people, and that fate has entrusted it with the great task of shaping this people and making them politically mature.
Admittedly, only a small proportion of the outgoing generation can still understand Fascism, but this is also the case in Germany - they should remain on the sidelines, for fate has not called them to play a part on the stage of life, but has placed them in the audience.

But it is different with the coming generation - a young state can never do without them, and we National Socialists, in particular, can therefore understand why Mussolini had to deal with the Vatican over the

question of youth and why he could not make any concessions in this matter: he could never do without his youth, because that would have meant doing without eternity.
Every Italian boy belongs to the state - a Berlin newspaper recently rightly pointed out what this means for a people as fond of children as the Italians, what a vote of confidence it is that Italian mothers entrust their children to the head of state.
When you enter the Mussolini Forum, you can see the boys of the Balilla doing gymnastics and calisthenics on the green lawns, and meanwhile, sitting on the marble benches above are the mothers—a large community.
Commands are transmitted through loudspeakers, and every boy's eyes already shine with masculinity: you can see from their whole demeanor how disciplined these young people are, and that they are all future soldiers, soldiers of Fascism.
This youth has been burned into their very fibers: "Italy is a nation of the first rank!"

Mussolini has restored faith to the Italian people: we belong too! We are fighters for the idea; you can't just move on to the agenda without us!
This is a youth for whom the Duce once coined the classic phrase: "Books and rifles!" - these are the symbols of this new youth.
Knowledge and power, brains and strength, we will shape the new state with these two influences - let's wait another ten years! Then there will be nothing else left, because people won't know anything else; then everything will be Fascist, and then it can of course be nuanced and subdivided.
That is the essence of a new revolutionary idea: that it does not make everything the same, but only wants to standardize the principles, for the harder and more indispensable its principles are, the more generous and powerful the effects can be.

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Fascism did not come to power without sacrifice: the Fascist movement laid nearly five thousand dead to rest in its struggle for victory, and today, these dead are the regiments that lead the Fascist revolution.
You will realize this when you see the ingeniously constructed Italian revolutionary exhibition, an exhibition of Fascism from the first day of its birth, from Italy's entry into the war to the hour of its seizure of power.
It is moving when, at the end of this exhibition, you suddenly find yourself standing in front of a small room with smeared wallpaper, a small shelf on the side with a milk bottle on it, a small desk with a dusty telephone, a dried-up inkwell, and a few hand grenades to the side: this was Mussolini's study in the offices of the *Popolo d'Italia*[2].
With this telephone, he refused to come to Rome to negotiate, and from this telephone, he dictated the sentence:

"We are not bringing you a ministry, we are bringing you a government."

And if you look out of this inconspicuous room into a hallway, you will see the mortuary of the Fascist movement, a large circle in front of which a Fascist soldier stands motionless with his bayonet fixed.

[2] The official newspaper of the Italian Fascist Party. - The Translator

At the top of the dome, you will find the words "Presente, presente: Here, here!" written thousands of times - this was the cry of the Fascist legionnaires when one of their comrades had fallen and the commander read out his name.
Here, day and night, the proud youthful song of the Fascist “Giovinezza" resounds in eternal repetition - this is how a revolutionary movement that has been in power for ten years honors its dead.
In this way, it is rooted in tradition, built into the great past of the Italian state, without losing the courage to look boldly and confidently into the future.

This exhibition repeatedly reminds one of Germany: one sees black shirts, covered in blood, worn by the Fascists who fell; there is a chair from a city council meeting on which a Fascist was shot in the middle of the session; there are Mussolini's youth letters, his teachers' statements that he was not eligible for a scholarship due to his lack of intelligence; a piece of a bridge has been sawn off and rebuilt, on whose railing a Fascist boy clung, who was to be thrown into the raging stream, but who then had to die because his hand was cut off.
Everything is the same as with us, and the effect will also be the same: we will find other forms of political will, but the path is the same.

Let us not delude ourselves that this movement could tolerate other parties, that it would ever share power with others, that this movement could grant even one other group recognition to share in a spoil that it has conquered all by itself - this is what Fascism teaches, and this is also proven by the development of the National Socialist movement, for both are filled with the hot breath of youth.
What has taken place in Italy over the past twelve years is a revolution, and at the end of revolutions, states and peoples tend to look different than they did at the beginning.

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Finally, a few consequences - I need not go into detail here, for the clarity of the results is so striking and unambiguous that there is really no need to discuss them.
Fascism is ten years ahead of us, not absolutely, because in the twelve years of our opposition we have already done some of what it had to do after taking power.
However, it has had time to grow into the state for ten years, and now we have to catch up - not everything it has created is useful to us, but the spirit in which it is done, the impulse that stands above everything, the will that drives everything, and the motor that sets everything in motion are the same.
The decisive factor remains in that we succeed in bringing young people into the leadership of this state, though it is said that age may be superior to youth—I don't know in what way.
The youth is always right, for youth sees things unspoiled, without inner inhibitions; it does not put an "but" or "though" after every "yes" and every "no", only "yes" and "no."
It can do no harm to the state if it is led by youth - after all, Napoleon once said:

"I want young generals and old majors.”

What the young generals lack in technique and routine, the old majors should make up for - thus, the youth is called upon to give the state its spirit and leave its mark on it.

What else we must learn from fascism: a revolution must not compromise!
A revolution is either a revolution or it is nothing! A revolution has a historical duty to go all the way and not be held back by sentimental inhibitions, and it is in the nature of revolutionary development that many things must be eliminated - if old forms cannot die, then what is falling must be pushed over.
Peoples are not there to be broken by old forms, but forms are there to give shape to peoples.
No compromises! That means you either have power completely, or you don't have it at all.
When young people come to power, they must work, and work harder than their elders; they must never tire and must impose their pace on the entire state.
Governments work far too slowly - one must dare to tackle things and have the courage to leap over the barriers of bureaucracy!

Whatever is done must be done for the people and with the people, and a revolutionary regime must never be in opposition to them.
Don't tell me that it is impossible to explain unpopular measures to the people - of course it is possible! You just have to have the gift of speaking to the people, for the people are not as unreasonable as those who scold them for being unreasonable.
The people know what they want, and they also know what is possible and what is impossible - one only has to give the people a sense of involvement in things, and they will then muster the courage to endure unpopular measures because they seem necessary to them.

In the end, a people can do anything if it wants to, especially if it has leaders who instill this will in it, such as a people of the stature of the German people.
In recent years, we have made the most serious mistakes because, instead of tackling a crisis, we always said: "But this is really the most serious crisis; it is the most serious crisis in a hundred years!" - that does not give a people the courage to work and the courage to tackle a problem.
Much of what the people do is, in the end, nothing less than a historical miracle - you have to give them blind faith and crystallize an authority that is inviolable in itself, as the inalienable capital of national trust.
Thus, just as Italy believes in its Duce, so must Germany believe in its Führer - even if the Führer is wrong once in a while, that is his human right, a right that every other human being is also entitled to. That is not even up for debate - instead, what is up for debate is whether there is a central power in the state that, recognized by all, represents the great capital of trust of the nation.

There can only be one will, one determination in the nation, and this can only be mobilized by one organization.
In ten years, we will be a united Germany, just as Italy is a united people today; in these years, we will find each other and regain the strength to cope with all difficulties: we just have to believe that we can do it, and then we will succeed.

Today, we in Germany are on the cusp of a great historical development, and while we ourselves cannot foresee its scope because we are the children of this era, the greatest internal and external problems have been placed in our hands to overcome.
We have no reason to regard them as insurmountable, for we must only tackle them and have faith that we can overcome them - in this, Adolf Hitler will show us the way!